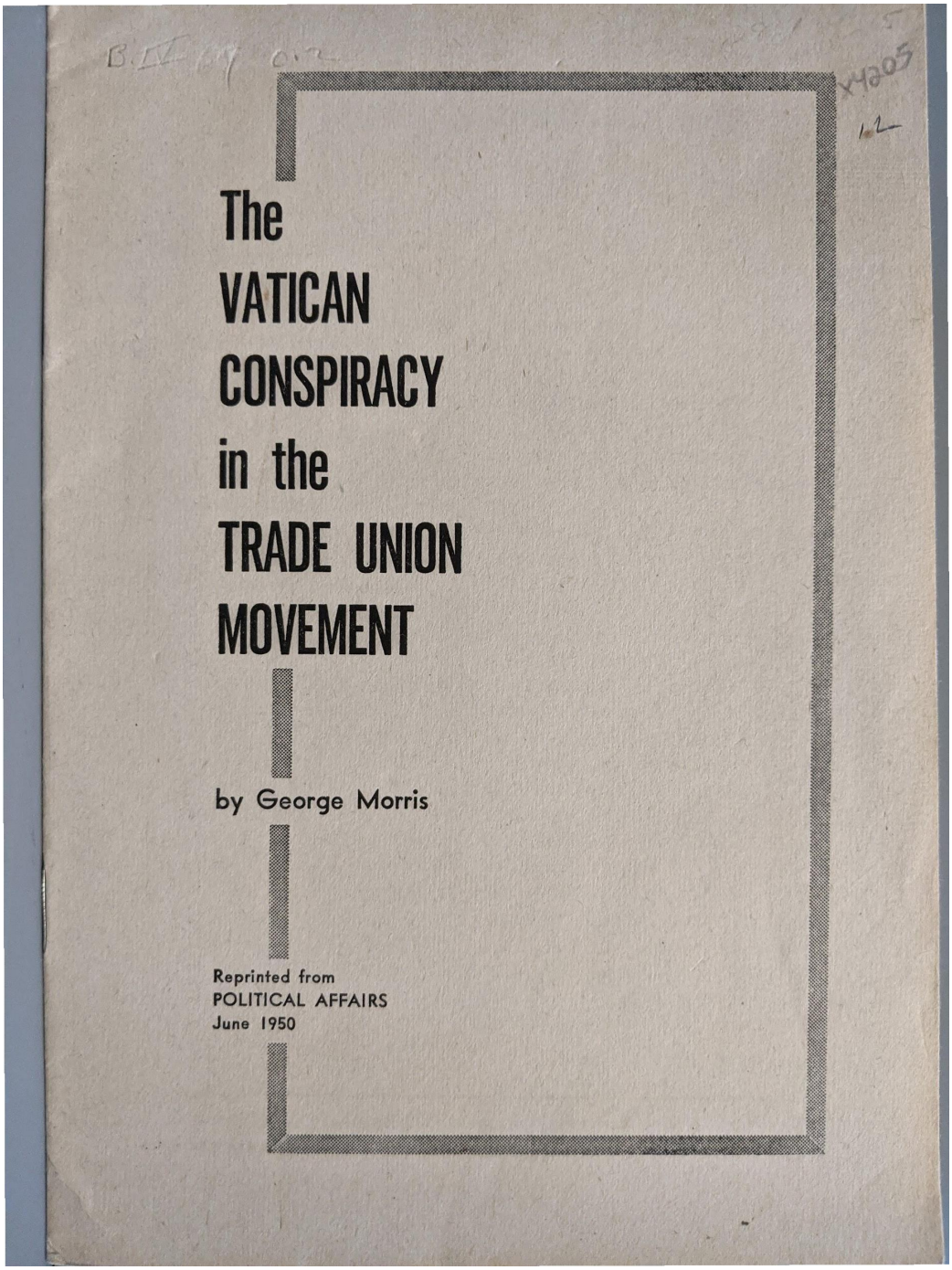
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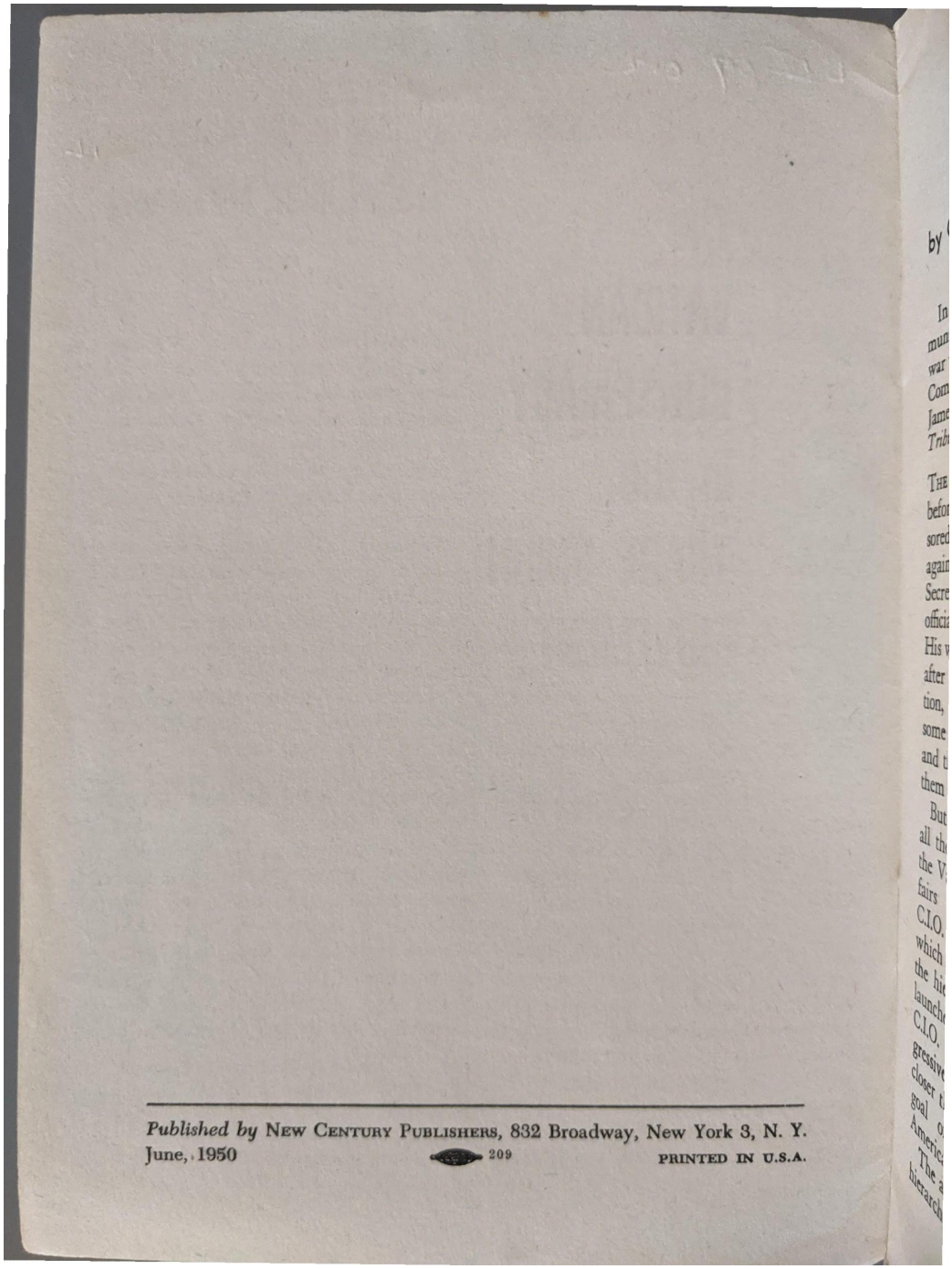

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The Vatican Conspiracy in the American Trade-Union Movement

by George Morris

In the last war we joined the Communists to fight the fascists. In another war we will join the fascists to fight the Communists. . . . (From the speech of James B. Carey, New York *Herald Tribune,* January 29, 1950.)

THE ABOVE STATEMENT was delivered before the American Legion-sponsored "All American Conference" against Communism, with Carey the Secretary-Treasurer of the C.I.O., an official delegate of that labor body. His words, uttered only three months after the Cleveland C.I.O. convention, measure the depth to which some C.I.O. office holders have sunk and the rapidity with which some of them are degenerating.

But Carey's speech reflects most of all the extent to which the hand of the Vatican has reached into the affairs of the once-progressive-led C.I.O. The Cleveland convention, at which the dominant combination of the hierarchy and Social-Democracy launched a program of splitting the C.I.O. and expelling its most progressive unions, advanced the Vatican closer than ever to its long-cherished goal of clerical-run unionism in America.

The agents of the Roman Catholic hierarchy were never so arrogant as they have been since the C.I.O. convention. Spurred by a fresh set of papal pronouncements, including an excommunication decree—even a ban on a Catholic newsboy's right to sell a Left paper—Vatican agents openly assert their "right" to interfere in the trade unions.

When the C.I.O.'s top leaders decided to use the convention's platform as a launching base for a "blitz" to destroy the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, they counted much on the ready aid of hundreds of priests and higher clerics to mobilize members of the Catholic faith for the Right-wing faction.

Already last summer, during the election of delegates for the U.E. convention of September 1949, the clerical forces intervened openly to help the Carey group. In Erie, Pennsylvania, for example, where the giant General Electric plant is located, Father Henry Paul wrote as follows, on the eve of the local's elections, in that city's Catholic paper, which was distributed to the U.E. membership:

. . . Should a Catholic deliberately vote for a Communist officer, be he a municipal or union officer, he is voting against God.

What is most perplexing is the fact

that there are many Catholics working at General Electric who say publicly that priests have no business interfering in the affairs of their union. (*The Lake Shore Visitor-Register,* May 27, 1949.)

When the U.E. convention met, the Roman Catholic authorities had the effrontery to send fifteen priests, "specialists" as labor chaplains or in a similar capacity, among them Father Charles O. Rice, for "spiritual" advisory activity among the delegates. Their weapon was religious terrorism. Father Rice, binoculars in hand, watched the proceedings from a gallery and sent messages to delegates.

No sooner was the U.E. expelled and the I. (for imitation) U.E. headed by Carey chartered by the C.I.O., than a priest entered a local U.E. meeting in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and declared the issue was "Christ or Stalin." On that basis he called for a standing "vote" and the newspapers gleefully heralded the victory for "Christ." There were a few other such cases in the initial stages of the "blitz." But when the first stage of the hysteria wore off, the "right" of priests to interfere in unions was vigorously challenged and the tide began to show a marked shift for the progressives, and, significantly, most often in areas predominantly Catholic.

In Elizabeth, N. J., for example, the pro-U.E. forces won in the Monroe Calculator Corp. in face of daily open campaigning by a priest for the Carey forces. In Greenfield, Massachusetts, the results were similar, despite the appeals of priests of eight Catholic churches during Sunday services in support of the Carey forces. While Catholics predominate among the workers there, 90 percent of the employees of the two largest General Electric plants, in Schenectady and Erie, signed dues checkoff authorization cards for the U.E.

The Roman Catholic hierarchy has in the recent period gained a greater foothold in the unions, particularly the C.I.O. But it is also apparent from instances such as the above that America's workers of Catholic and other faiths are resisting clerical-dominated unionism with greater vigor than ever. The Vatican State may find Wall Street's foreign policy an anchor for its diplomacy, but America's working class, comprising many national origins and faiths and having a long-standing tradition rejecting religious interference in unions, is definitely not a fertile soil for clerical unionism. A united front of workers of all faiths is bound to grow against such church intrusion.

THE REAL SOURCE OF CAREY'S LINE

To understand the menace, it is first of all necessary to examine the real source of guidance for one like Carey. We will not enter here into the elementary fact that labor officials of the Carey stripe are tools of Wall Street imperialist policy within union ranks. But the greater than average

viciousness displayed by one like Carey, as shown in the brazen gall even to call for an alliance with fascism, is accounted for by the special inspiration the Vatican gives to its tools in the labor movement. Carey defiantly reaffirmed his statement of January 28 before a meeting of the Philadelphia C.I.O. Council on March 23.

Vatican authorities always stress that the Roman Catholic doctrine on labor and the "social order" are based on the encyclicals *Rerum Novarum,* issued by Pope Leo XIII in 1891, and *Quadragesimo Anno,* issued by Pius XI in 1931.

We examined *Rerum Novarum* in considerable detail in an article entitled "The Vatican's Labor Philosophy," which appeared in the April 1949 issue of this publication. In brief, we showed that the document was issued essentially in an effort to stem the onrushing tide of Socialism, whose influence already embraced many millions of workers. Leo XIII, admitting his alarm over the drift of workers away from the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, partially conceded some of the rights that workers in most countries had already won through Marxist leadership.

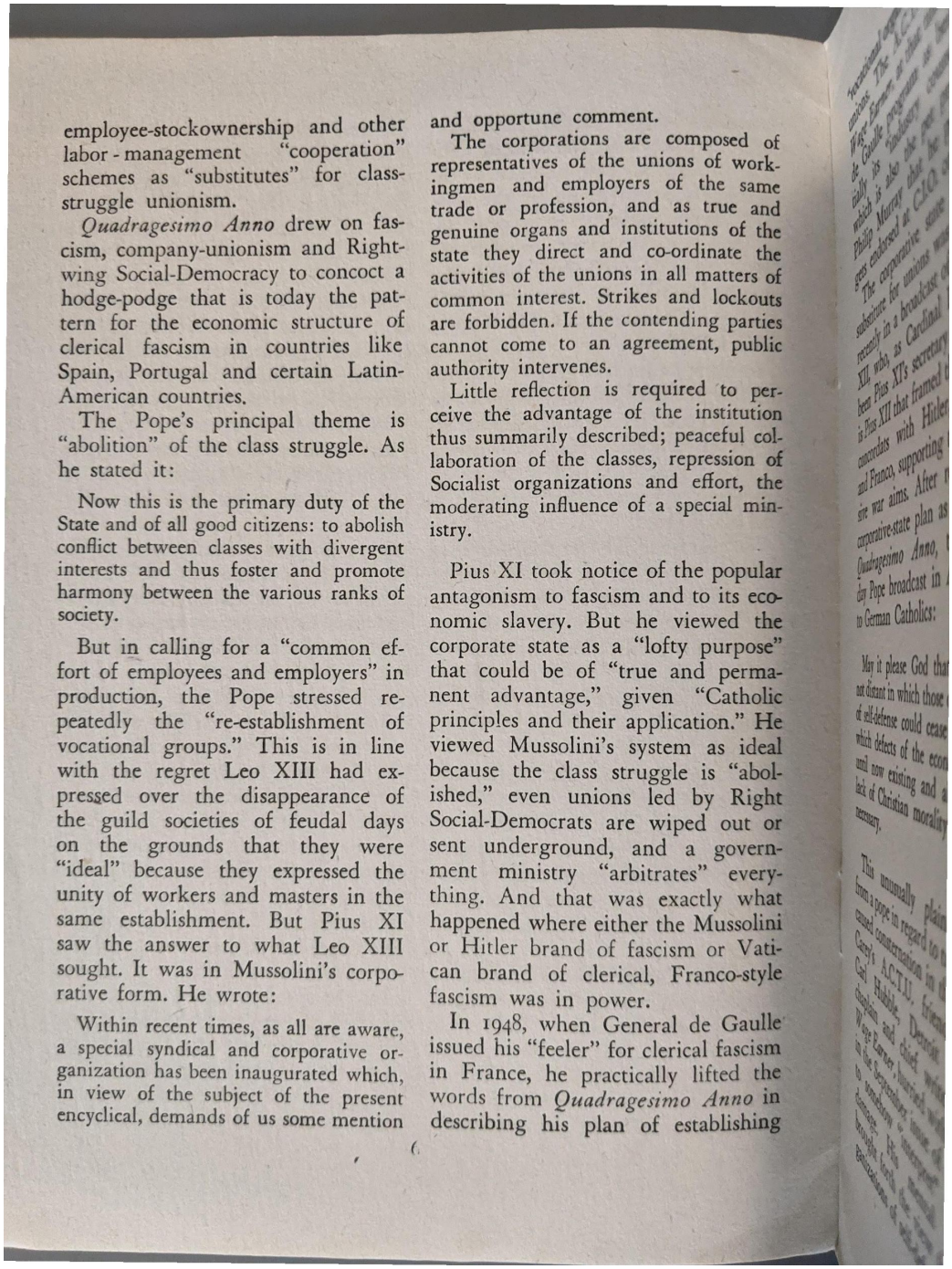
Leo XIII further counseled Catholic toilers to take their lot for granted and not seek to violate God's will that they bear their lot. He quoted generously from Christ and other Biblical sources informing the poor that they are blessed because they will enjoy eternally the kingdom of heaven after their brief trial on earth. On that basis he cautioned against violation of the "natural right" of the rich to possess their wealth. He called for labor-capital cooperation.

The Vatican's program today stems more directly from the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno,* which marks the 40th Anniversary of the earlier encyclical, reaffirms it and "adjusts" it to the new times.

What was the world like when Pius XI issued this document?

The Soviet Union was nearly 14 years old and its first Five-Year Plan was nearing completion. The labor movement was split, with the Social-Democrats turned handmaidens of capitalism everywhere and the Communists carrying the torch of the Socialism that Leo XIII had condemned so bitterly. The world was in the grip of an unprecedented economic crisis, with an estimated fifteen million unemployed in rich America. Fascism was a decade old in the very country where Vatican Hill is located. Hitler was advancing rapidly in Germany. Hungry workers in many areas were shifting away from the Socialists, whose fancy theories of gradual "growing into Socialism" crashed on the rocks of the crisis.

In the United States, the trade-union movement was very ineffective after a decade that saw the hey-day of company unionism and open-shop terror, monopoly-sponsored paternalism in the plants, profit-sharing



employee-stockownership and other labor - management "cooperation" schemes as "substitutes" for class-struggle unionism.

Quadragesimo Anno drew on fascism, company-unionism and Right-wing Social-Democracy to concoct a hodge-podge that is today the pattern for the economic structure of clerical fascism in countries like Spain, Portugal and certain Latin-American countries.

The Pope's principal theme is "abolition" of the class struggle. As he stated it:

> Now this is the primary duty of the State and of all good citizens: to abolish conflict between classes with divergent interests and thus foster and promote harmony between the various ranks of society.

But in calling for a "common effort of employees and employers" in production, the Pope stressed repeatedly the "re-establishment of vocational groups." This is in line with the regret Leo XIII had expressed over the disappearance of the guild societies of feudal days on the grounds that they were "ideal" because they expressed the unity of workers and masters in the same establishment. But Pius XI saw the answer to what Leo XIII sought. It was in Mussolini's corporative form. He wrote:

> Within recent times, as all are aware, a special syndical and corporative organization has been inaugurated which, in view of the subject of the present encyclical, demands of us some mention and opportune comment.
>
> The corporations are composed of representatives of the unions of workingmen and employers of the same trade or profession, and as true and genuine organs and institutions of the state they direct and co-ordinate the activities of the unions in all matters of common interest. Strikes and lockouts are forbidden. If the contending parties cannot come to an agreement, public authority intervenes.
>
> Little reflection is required to perceive the advantage of the institution thus summarily described; peaceful collaboration of the classes, repression of Socialist organizations and effort, the moderating influence of a special ministry.

Pius XI took notice of the popular antagonism to fascism and to its economic slavery. But he viewed the corporate state as a "lofty purpose" that could be of "true and permanent advantage," given "Catholic principles and their application." He viewed Mussolini's system as ideal because the class struggle is "abolished," even unions led by Right Social-Democrats are wiped out or sent underground, and a government ministry "arbitrates" everything. And that was exactly what happened where either the Mussolini or Hitler brand of fascism or Vatican brand of clerical, Franco-style fascism was in power.

In 1948, when General de Gaulle issued his "feeler" for clerical fascism in France, he practically lifted the words from *Quadragesimo Anno* in describing his plan of establishing

"vocational organizations" in place of unions. The A.C.T.U.'s organ, the *Wage Earner,* at that time hailed the de Gaulle program as being essentially its "industry council plan," which is also the pet program of Philip Murray that he periodically gets endorsed at C.I.O. conventions.

The corporative state idea as a substitute for unions was reaffirmed recently in a broadcast of Pope Pius XII, who, as Cardinal Pacelli, had been Pius XI's secretary of state. It is Pius XII that framed the Vatican's concordats with Hitler, Mussolini and Franco, supporting their aggressive war aims. After restating the corporative-state plan as outlined in *Quadragesimo Anno,* the present-day Pope broadcast in August 1949 to German Catholics:

> May it please God that the day be not distant in which those organizations of self-defense could cease to function, which defects of the economic system until now existing and above all the lack of Christian morality have made necessary.

This unusually plain language from a pope in regard to trade unions caused consternation in the ranks of Carey's A.C.T.U. friends. Father Carl Hubble, Detroit A.C.T.U. chaplain and chief writer for the *Wage Earner,* hurried with an article in the September issue of that paper to somehow "interpret" away the damage. His mental acrobatics brought forth the view that by "organizations of self-defense" the Pope meant, not unions, but "only a description of one of the functions of unions." Evidently some people in the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy believe that its subjects are still as illiterate as they were in the Middle Ages.

Vatican agents in the U.S. find it necessary forever to "interpret" and "explain" papal pronouncements because so much in them violates the popular acceptance of unionism and opposition to fascism or church intrusion in union or public affairs. Hence their use of terms such as "industry councils" in place of "syndical" or "corporative" state.

Also very embarrassing to the Vatican's agents in the labor movement is the blessing the Pope gives to the familiar American-type company union and profit-sharing speed-up schemes. Pius XI said:

> We deem it advisable that the wage contract should, when possible, be modified somewhat by a contract of partnership, as is already being tried in various ways to no small gain, both of the wage earners and the employers. In this way the wage earners are made sharers of some sort of ownership, or the management of the profits.

A measure of the value of papal economics for the workers was given during the long and bitterly fought strike of 5,000 asbestos workers in the French-Canadian town of Asbestos. So abused were the workers by the American-owned Johns-Manville Corp., that even some in the Catholic clergy supported them and the Mon-

treal and Quebec Archbishops ordered collections for them in the churches. But Lewis H. Brown, chairman of the corporation, challenged them with a pamphlet to the workers in May, 1949, in which he made very generous use of lengthy quotations from *Quadragesimo Anno* to "justify" the company's position in the strike. The quotations read like an answer to a prayer of an advertisement writer for the National Association of Manufacturers. And Brown had no need of distorting those quotations, as Father Charles O. Rice, the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists' leader, charged. Some months later the Archbishop of Montreal resigned "for reasons of health" and the resignations of the Quebec Archbishop and of a bishop were reported in Vatican circles, according to the *New York Times* of February 12, 1950.

Quadragesimo Anno also altered the papal attitude to the Social-Democrats. It noted the division that has occurred in the "camp of socialism" with a "moderate" and a Communist wing. The latter now drew the brunt of the wrath that Leo XIII directed against the early socialists. But of the Right wing, Pius XI said "it cannot be denied its programs often strikingly approach the just demands of Christian social reformers."

"If these changes continue," went on the Pope, "it may well come about that the tenets of mitigated socialism will no longer be different from the program of those who seek to reform human society according to Christian [i.e., Roman Catholic] principles."

Thus the Pope recognized that the Right-wing class collaboration program differed little from his own, the "corporative" type. And hadn't Mussolini borrowed his class-collaborationist line mainly from the Right-wing Social-Democrats whence he came? The Vatican-Social-Democratic united front we see today, especially in the Right-wing leadership of unions, is essentially based on the line set forth in 1931.

Quadragesimo Anno also laid down the basis upon which organizations like the A.C.T.U. were formed. Leo XIII gave Roman Catholics permission to join Catholic unions, in an effort to divert them from Socialist-led organizations. Already before 1931 the Vatican was forced to make some interim concessions, leaving it to local bishops to dispense with the restriction on joining "neutral" (non-denominational) unions. The Catholic workers were not paying much attention to Leo XIII's restrictions anyway. By 1931 it was so plain that the reactionary-dominated Catholic unions were doomed as a substantial movement, that Pius XI lifted the restriction entirely, provided some precautions were taken:

Among these precautions, the first and most important is that side by side

with these trade unions, there must always be associations which aim at giving their members a thorough religious and moral training, and these in turn may impart to the labor unions to which they belong the upright spirit which should direct their entire conduct.

The Pope decreed it is "our right and our duty to deal authoritatively with social and economic problems," that have a "bearing on moral conduct." In fact, he added, the Roman Catholic Church must "demand that both social and economic questions be brought within our supreme jurisdiction."

Thus developed the "principle" that the Vatican has the "supreme jurisdiction" over the morals and social and economic policies of labor and a "right" to train its followers to "impart" its dictums into the unions.

The claim of religious supremacy is, of course, not new for the Vatican. But in recent weeks talk has developed on a new approach by the Vatican—its proposal to form an anti-Communist "Christian Front" with other Christian denominations. Although papal spokesmen stress that this proposal is in no way a compromise on religious doctrine, some Protestants expressed hope that the proposal is a departure from the claim that the Vatican speaks for the "only true church."

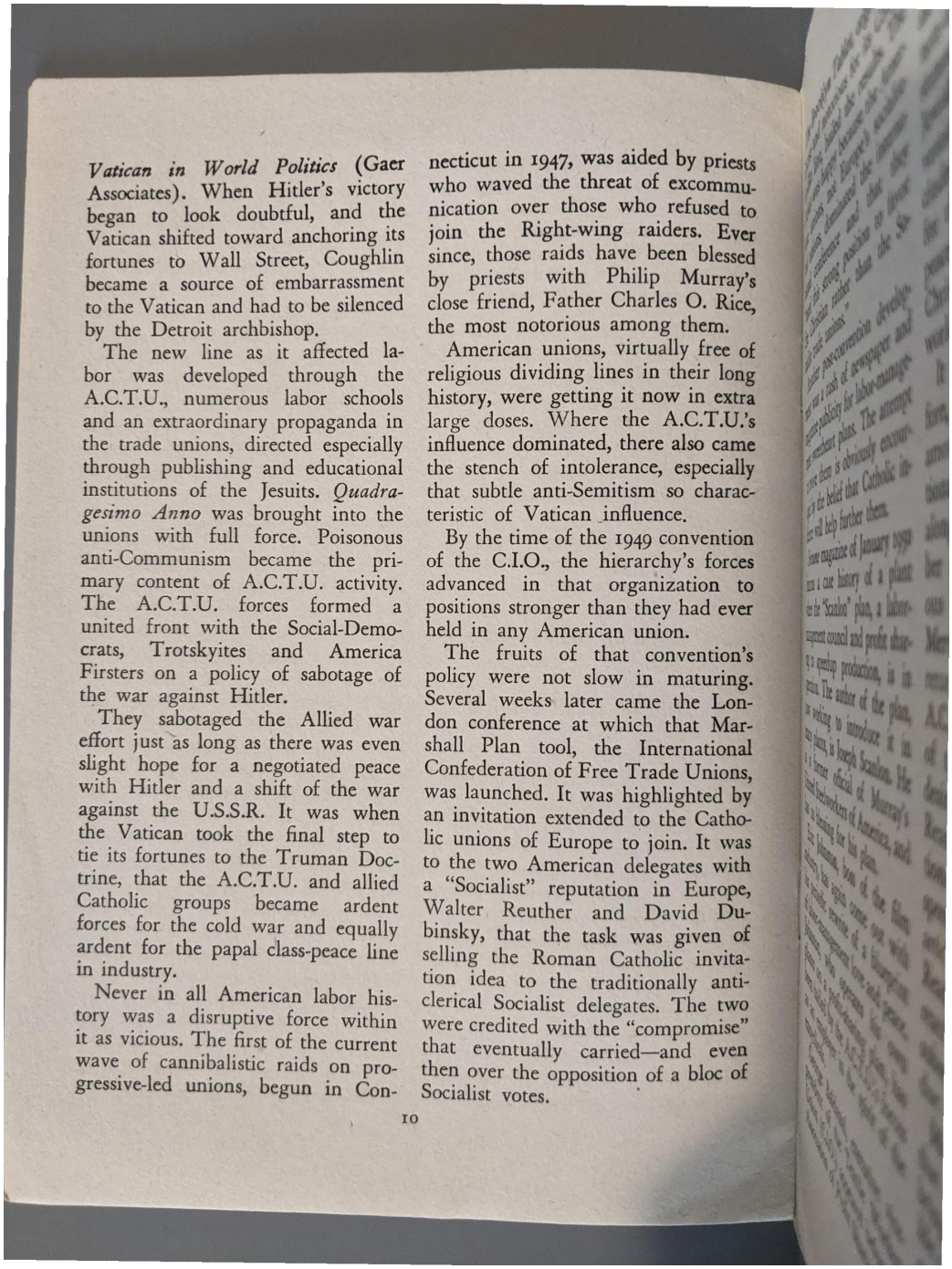
Parallel with the Pope's proposal for an anti-Communist Christian front, there is also talk of a similar Mohammedan-Catholic united front.

The Pope's move only bears out the fact that the Vatican is in the first place a political institution for reaction and, as always, will not hesitate to twist religious dogma to fit into its political objectives. Thus, for example, Catholics are now told by the Vatican that Bishops can authorize meetings between Catholics and non-Catholics provided discussions steer away from the tenets of Catholic doctrine. In practice this is a program that envisages Vatican leadership in a world anti-Communist united front.

THE A.C.T.U. IS BORN

The birth of the A.C.T.U. and the hierarchy's concerted drive to "impart" its program did not get under way in the United States until 1937. But already in the early 'thirties the notorious fascist, anti-Semitic radio priest, Father Charles E. Coughlin, began the task. He formed the National Union for Social Justice, through which he sought to head off the already then evident unionization movement of Catholics in the mass production industries.

Coughlinism failed because Hitler's march was stopped. Its movement was anchored on the conviction of the Vatican's diplomats that Hitler would conquer the world. It was in line with that conviction that Cardinal Pacelli (now Pope) directed a diplomacy of support to Hitler in all countries in the path of the Nazi march. This is well described in Avro Manhattan's *The*



Vatican in World Politics (Gaer Associates). When Hitler's victory began to look doubtful, and the Vatican shifted toward anchoring its fortunes to Wall Street, Coughlin became a source of embarrassment to the Vatican and had to be silenced by the Detroit archbishop.

The new line as it affected labor was developed through the A.C.T.U., numerous labor schools and an extraordinary propaganda in the trade unions, directed especially through publishing and educational institutions of the Jesuits. *Quadragesimo Anno* was brought into the unions with full force. Poisonous anti-Communism became the primary content of A.C.T.U. activity. The A.C.T.U. forces formed a united front with the Social-Democrats, Trotskyites and America Firsters on a policy of sabotage of the war against Hitler.

They sabotaged the Allied war effort just as long as there was even slight hope for a negotiated peace with Hitler and a shift of the war against the U.S.S.R. It was when the Vatican took the final step to tie its fortunes to the Truman Doctrine, that the A.C.T.U. and allied Catholic groups became ardent forces for the cold war and equally ardent for the papal class-peace line in industry.

Never in all American labor history was a disruptive force within it as vicious. The first of the current wave of cannibalistic raids on progressive-led unions, begun in Connecticut in 1947, was aided by priests who waved the threat of excommunication over those who refused to join the Right-wing raiders. Ever since, those raids have been blessed by priests with Philip Murray's close friend, Father Charles O. Rice, the most notorious among them.

American unions, virtually free of religious dividing lines in their long history, were getting it now in extra large doses. Where the A.C.T.U.'s influence dominated, there also came the stench of intolerance, especially that subtle anti-Semitism so characteristic of Vatican influence.

By the time of the 1949 convention of the C.I.O., the hierarchy's forces advanced in that organization to positions stronger than they had ever held in any American union.

The fruits of that convention's policy were not slow in maturing. Several weeks later came the London conference at which that Marshall Plan tool, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, was launched. It was highlighted by an invitation extended to the Catholic unions of Europe to join. It was to the two American delegates with a "Socialist" reputation in Europe, Walter Reuther and David Dubinsky, that the task was given of selling the Roman Catholic invitation idea to the traditionally anti-clerical Socialist delegates. The two were credited with the "compromise" that eventually carried—and even then over the opposition of a bloc of Socialist votes.

The *Brooklyn Tablet,* organ of the diocese and notorious for its Coughlin-like line, hailed the results. The *Tablet* was happy because the American unions, not Europe's socialist-led unions, dominated the international conference and that they "used this strong position to favor the Christian rather than the Socialist trade unions."

Another post-convention development was a rash of newspaper and magazine publicity for labor-management sweetheart plans. The attempt to revive them is obviously encouraged by the belief that Catholic influence will help further them.

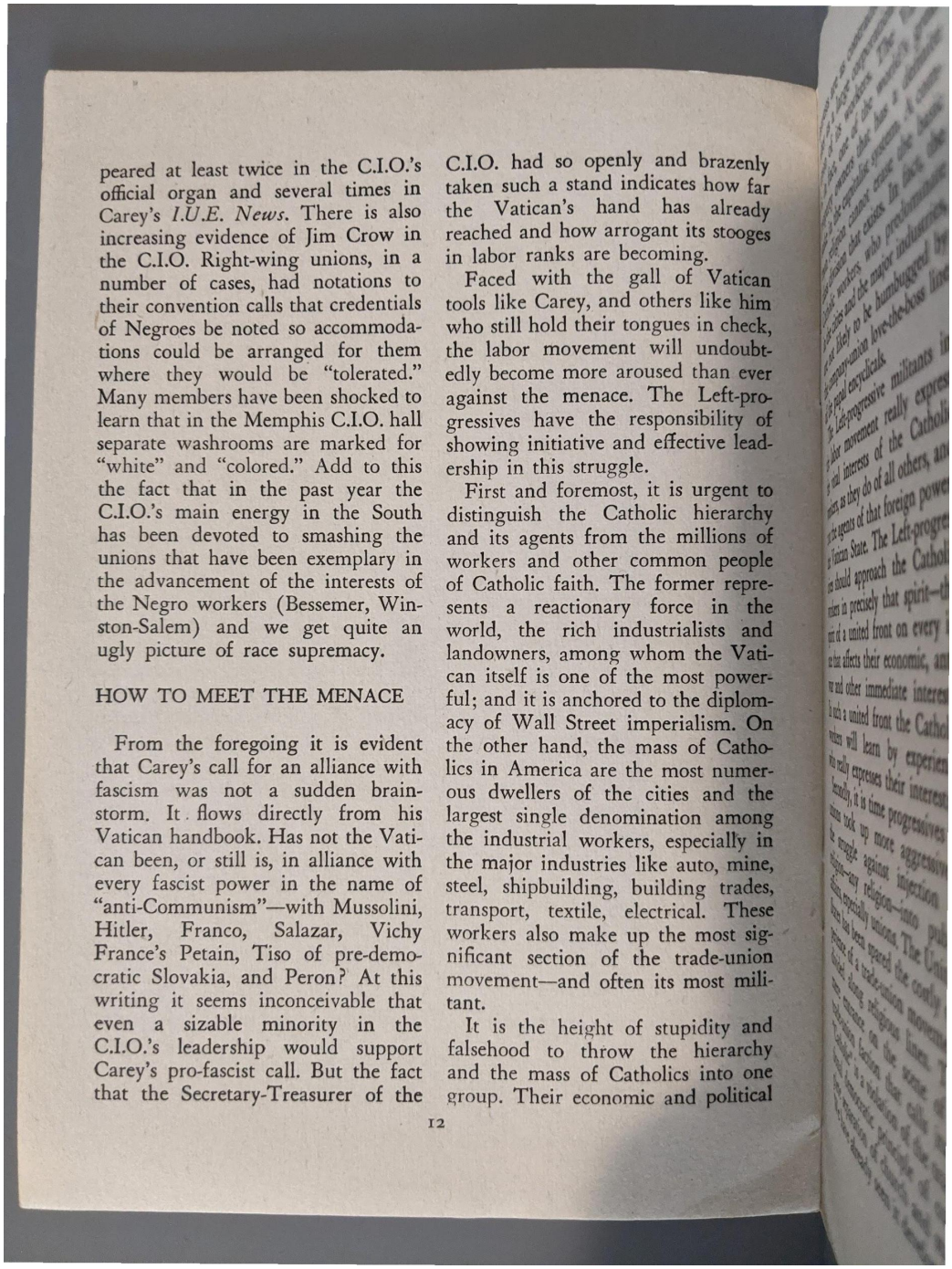
Fortune magazine of January 1950 features a case history of a plant where the "Scanlon" plan, a labor-management council and profit sharing to speedup production, is in operation. The author of the plan, now working to introduce it in many plants, is Joseph Scanlon. He is a former official of Murray's United Steelworkers of America, and has its blessing for his plan.

Eric Johnston, boss of the film industry, has again come out with his periodic rewrite of a blueprint of labor-management love and peace. Johnston, who operates his own plants on a profit-sharing plan, has been hailed by the A.C.T.U.'s forces as an employer in the spirit of the encyclicals.

George Baldanzi, executive vice-president of the Textile Workers Union (C.I.O.) appeared before the Association of Profit Sharing Industries and delivered an endorsement of their schemes, apparently unconcerned with the fact that most of the association's member companies are non-union. It was Baldanzi who stunned a considerable number of Jewish delegates at the C.I.O. convention when he bombastically concluded a speech by saying he longed for the day when "we can live in peace, security and happiness as Christian people in this Christian world were intended to live."

It was hardly surprising, therefore, that the C.I.O. was listed among the participants of the reactionary "All American Conference" along with the N.A.M., U.S. Chamber of Commerce and such notorious pro-fascists and anti-Semites as Mervin K. Hart. Carey and his secretary, Harry Read, founder of the A.C.T.U., were fitting as delegates of the C.I.O. The conferees, very desirous of a "liberal" front, named Read as chairman of the continuations committee they formed. Carey's speech, quoted at the opening of this article, hardly revealed him and Read as the "liberal" side of the reactionary united front. The C.I.O.'s subsequent withdrawal was entirely due to rank-and-file pressure.

Meanwhile, signs multiply to show that the influence of clerical fascism brings its inevitable fruits into the life of the C.I.O. Since the Cleveland convention, the C.I.O.'s cartoonist revived Julius Streicher's anti-Semitic character of a Jew and tagged it "expelled unions." The cartoon ap-



peared at least twice in the C.I.O.'s official organ and several times in Carey's *I.U.E. News*. There is also increasing evidence of Jim Crow in the C.I.O. Right-wing unions, in a number of cases, had notations to their convention calls that credentials of Negroes be noted so accommodations could be arranged for them where they would be "tolerated." Many members have been shocked to learn that in the Memphis C.I.O. hall separate washrooms are marked for "white" and "colored." Add to this the fact that in the past year the C.I.O.'s main energy in the South has been devoted to smashing the unions that have been exemplary in the advancement of the interests of the Negro workers (Bessemer, Winston-Salem) and we get quite an ugly picture of race supremacy.

HOW TO MEET THE MENACE

From the foregoing it is evident that Carey's call for an alliance with fascism was not a sudden brainstorm. It flows directly from his Vatican handbook. Has not the Vatican been, or still is, in alliance with every fascist power in the name of "anti-Communism"—with Mussolini, Hitler, Franco, Salazar, Vichy France's Petain, Tiso of pre-democratic Slovakia, and Peron? At this writing it seems inconceivable that even a sizable minority in the C.I.O.'s leadership would support Carey's pro-fascist call. But the fact that the Secretary-Treasurer of the C.I.O. had so openly and brazenly taken such a stand indicates how far the Vatican's hand has already reached and how arrogant its stooges in labor ranks are becoming.

Faced with the gall of Vatican tools like Carey, and others like him who still hold their tongues in check, the labor movement will undoubtedly become more aroused than ever against the menace. The Left-progressives have the responsibility of showing initiative and effective leadership in this struggle.

First and foremost, it is urgent to distinguish the Catholic hierarchy and its agents from the millions of workers and other common people of Catholic faith. The former represents a reactionary force in the world, the rich industrialists and landowners, among whom the Vatican itself is one of the most powerful; and it is anchored to the diplomacy of Wall Street imperialism. On the other hand, the mass of Catholics in America are the most numerous dwellers of the cities and the largest single denomination among the industrial workers, especially in the major industries like auto, mine, steel, shipbuilding, building trades, transport, textile, electrical. These workers also make up the most significant section of the trade-union movement—and often its most militant.

It is the height of stupidity and falsehood to throw the hierarchy and the mass of Catholics into one group. Their economic and political

interests are as contradictory to each other as a large corporation and the union of its workers. The Vatican is, in fact, one of the world's great property owners that has a definite stake in the capitalist system. A common religion cannot erase the basic class division that exists. In fact, the Catholic workers, who predominate in the cities and the major industries, are not likely to be humbugged by the company-union love-the-boss line of the papal encyclicals.

The Left-progressive militants in the labor movement really express the vital interests of the Catholic workers, as they do of all others, and not the agents of that foreign power, the Vatican State. The Left-progressives should approach the Catholic workers in precisely that spirit—the spirit of a united front on every issue that affects their economic, anti-war and other immediate interests. In such a united front the Catholic workers will learn by experience who really expresses their interests.

Secondly, it is time progressives in unions took up more aggressively the struggle against injection of religion—any religion—into public affairs, especially unions. The United States has been spared the costly experience of a trade-union movement divided along religious lines. The mere entrance on the scene of a trade-union faction that calls itself "Catholic" is a violation of the traditional democratic principle of complete separation of church and state. We have already seen it develop to a point where the Roman Catholic faith of trade-union members is being openly exploited for factional purposes in a union without regard for the elementary principle of inter-faith unity that must be preserved in a labor organization. The great majority of America's workers, the Catholics included, resent religious interference in affairs outside the church, or the exploitation of their faith as a cover-up for reactionary causes.

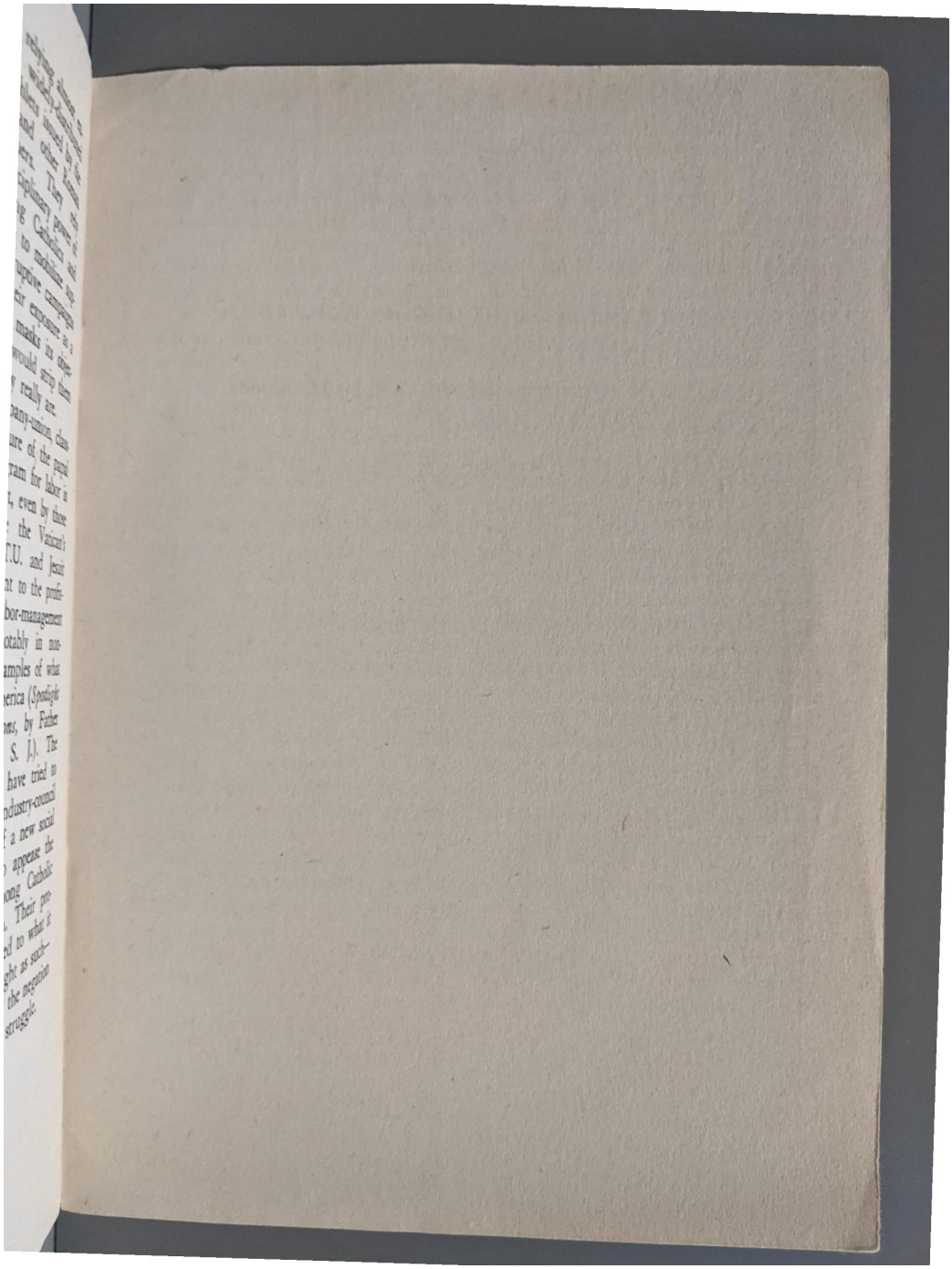
Thirdly, it is important to demonstrate to the Catholic workers the contradiction between their class interests and those of the hierarchy. Too often, this contradiction is blurred by the wide publicity for the hierarchy's social activities. Most often overlooked however, is its stand against Federal child labor legislation. In Massachusetts, the hierarchy's opposition to a bill providing state-administered sick benefits amazed the trade-union leaders of that state, including those of Catholic faith. Evidence that the A.C.T.U. is actively involved in the Ohio conspiracy to sabotage labor support for a movement to unseat Senator Robert Taft is another example. The most brazen example of what Vatican "labor policy" leads to, is the open scab position the A.C.T.U. took on the recent bitterly fought strike of the coal miners. Its organ, the *Labor Leader,* ran editorials siding with the coal operators on every demand and slandering John L. Lewis in the most shameful

manner for standing by those demands. This was done at a moment when miners were in their worst starvation period and organizations everywhere were gathering food to sustain them in that fight. The A.C.T.U. organ openly counseled the coal operators not to give the miners a raise.

Fourthly, the implied bigotry in the very idea of a Catholic-dominated trade-union movement should be noted. As we have shown, the theory of *Quadragesimo Anno* is that the problems of a union come under the "supreme jurisdiction" of the Roman Catholic Church, and that through its followers organized in "associations" within a union it seeks to "impart" an influence over the "entire" union that obviously leaves non-Catholics in a second-class category. Anti-Semitism and "white supremacy" are inevitable by-products of such intolerance, much of which had already revealed itself since the Vatican's influence became pronounced in the C.I.O.'s life.

Fifthly, the A.C.T.U. and other agencies of the hierarchy in labor's ranks are an extremely tiny group. Their activities are obviously not a popular attraction among the Catholic workers. Moreover, they operate as secret groups, with a handful of operators behind the scenes. They barely put out much literature in their own name, relying almost entirely on the widely-distributed books and pamphlets issued by the Paulist Fathers and other Roman Catholic publishers. They rely mainly on the disciplinary power of the church among Catholics and religious prejudice to mobilize support for their disruptive campaigns in the unions. Their exposure as a small clique that masks its objective by a religion would strip them to the handful they really are.

Finally, the company-union, class-collaborationist nature of the papal and A.C.T.U. program for labor is seldom brought out, even by those who do challenge the Vatican's power. The A.C.T.U. and Jesuit writers frankly point to the profit-sharing schemes, labor-management speedup setups (notably in non-union fields) as examples of what they want for all America (*Spotlight on the Labor Unions,* by Father William J. Smith, S. J.). The A.C.T.U. ideologists have tried to embellish their "industry-council plan" as some sort of a new social order in an effort to appease the growing mistrust among Catholic workers in capitalism. Their program should be reduced to what it is and exposed and fought as such—company unionism and the negation of the line of militant struggle.



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